NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 12, NO. 50 NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 26, 1960

THE YEAR OF DECISION

UN Assembly faces explosive issues with all-star cast

By Kumar Goshal

THE 15TH REGULAR session of the UN General Assembly opened in New York on Sept. 20 under unprecedented circumstances and with an all-star cast.

A surprise emergency Assembly session, called earlier by the U.S. to "clarify" once again the UN role in the Congo, blended into the 15th session. The number of member nations rose from 82 to 97 with the entry of 15 new nations—14 African and Cyprus—and may go to 98 if the Mali Federation reapplies as French Sudan and Senegal as the result of a split. Asian-African membership thus jumped from 29 to 43.

The response to Soviet Premier Khrushchev's call to heads of member governments to lead their delegations was impressive enough to force another agonizing reappraisal in Washington. All the socialist states, 14 of the new nations (Congo's Premier Lumumba was at this writing trying to find a plane to fly him to the UN), Indonesia, the United Arab Republic, Cuba, Ghana, Morocco, Tunisia, Guinea and Yugoslavia—all were represented by their chief of government.

U.S. GUESSED WRONG: Others, such as India's Premier Nehru and Ceylon's Premier Mrs. Bandaranaike, were scheduled to arrive a few days after the Assembly opened. British Prime Minister Macmillan was waiting for his entrance cue.

This imposing list of leaders, which may grow even larger, clearly indicated that the U.S. had miscalculated the yearning for disarmament, peaceful coexistence and universal prosperity prevailing in the world. President Eisenhower, refusing to take time off from golf to head the U.S. delegation, never-

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THIS IS THE YEAR THAT AFRICA MAKES ITS PRESENCE FELT IN THE WORLD COUNCILS

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NEW REPRISALS HIT HAYWOOD COUNTY, TENN.

Voting registration is stepped up in Dixie

By Joanne Grant

A STEPPED-UP CAMPAIGN for Negro voter registration and Federal court action to protect Negro voting rights in Haywood County, Tenn., has resulted in new economic reprisals against Negroes there.

On Sept. 15 all insurance covering fire, theft and accidents held by Negroes was canceled. This most recent action in the economic campaign against newly registered voters of Haywood County came two days after the Justice Dept. announced its suit against 27 persons and two banks in the county seeking to enjoin them from using threats, intimidation or coercion to discourage Negro voting.

The suit is the first use of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 against individuals. It charges that the defendants:

- Induced wholesalers not to deal with Negro merchants believed to be sympathetic to registration and voting by Negroes.
- Refused to sell food, other goods and services to certain Negroes.
- Refused to deal with merchants suspected of selling to Negroes and induced suppliers not to deal with these merchants.
- Dismissed Negroes from their jobs, ended sharecropping and tenant farming agreements with Negroes, and refused to extend credit or make loans to Negroes.

Nearly all of the county's 6,500 whites of voting age are registered as against

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Report to Readers: World of misinformation

THE BEST NEWS to be reported at the beginning of a momentous week in New York is that the American people remained calm in the face of a campaign of hysteria whipped up by the American press, radio and TV with an able assist by the State Department. There were more cops than hostile demonstrators on the East River pier as Premier Khrushchev debarked from the Baltika; and there were several thousand friendly demonstrators to greet Premier Castro at Idlewild airport.

Could it be that America recalled how Mr. K toured the whole nation—let alone Manhattan Island—and the skies did not fall nor did the earth open? Could it be that people would like to hear what he and the other world statesmen have to say about peace and the many problems that beset this planet—even if the editors and the broadcasters would not? That they may be more than a little bit sick of the jamming noises and the entirely rude conduct of our communications media?

A dark gray icing was put on the cake by the State Department at the end of last week with a request to the major TV networks not to let the home screen "become a propaganda platform for Premier Khrushchev during his visit to the United States" (New York **Times**, Sept. 18). The story went on to say that there was little reaction among the broadcasters "because in the main they had arrived at the same position independently." There was some annoyance, though. As one TV official put it: "I'm afraid that what we did voluntarily will now be defined as knuckling under to the State Department. It is most unfortunate . . ."

MOST UNFORTUNATE indeed. Not only does the State Department not want the American people to get the other side: it doesn't even trust the broadcasters to do its bidding without being told. Such lack of trust is thoroughly unwarranted before the fact of a self-censoring communications industry which has taken upon itself—without being told—the bigger job of presenting to the nation a world in which black is white and the truth walks on its hands.

Thus, without evidence, Cuba has become a "Russian satellite." To **Time**, Premier Nkrumah of Ghana, the stablest of the new African leaders, is an "African adventurer." For the **Times'** James Reston, "something new is happening in the world. We are seeing inexperienced, unstable and even deranged men exercising sovereign power of the new nations with the support of Communist ideology and military strength." To leaven this terrifying scene, Reston revived in print an old cannibal joke which he says is making the rounds in Washington. It goes like this:

(Continued on Page 2)

THE MAIL BAG

Don't touch

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The papers state, the Great Debate
Is going on TV.
Between the Boston Senator
And the old and new VP
Their make-up will be perfect,
The staging will be swell.
But how distinguish Jack from Dick,
By sight, by sound or smell?

V. M. S.

Garblese

LITTLETON, MASS.

Eight years of incoherent speeches is enough for this century. If Kennedy makes it, he may gain top honors. When asked about making personal attacks on Nixon, Kennedy answered: "Well, I'm—let's make it clear that this campaign is going to be a very vigorous one and we're going to attempt to make the fight and I don't—within what I would consider to be the rules of fact—and had not said anything about my opponent that I don't stand by. I haven't said it personally."

James Pacy Jr.

Lightning and thunder

BOLTON, MASS.

This is a "practical" age and Barrows Dunham wants us to be practical in the face of the nuclear crisis. So do I. But he discards Dr. George P. Grant as one who is "logic-chopping, hemming-hawing over the merits of past thinkers." Perhaps Mr. Dunham got up on the wrong side of his bed the day he wrote his review of **Philosophy in the Mass Age.**

Is there still time, brother? I don't know. I can only say that the several hours required to read—thoughtfully—Dr. Grant's 120-page book can be hours well spent, as a help toward understanding ourselves and the Russians. Without understanding, the people will perish. And before policies change, attitudes must change.

The title of Barrows Dunham's review is "Let's Have Some Thunder." Dr. Grant does not have to shout. He gives us flashes of illumination—the lightning. Let the readers then supply some thunder.

William H. Cary, Jr.

Clarity & vigor

BURBANK, CALIF.

James Aronson's article, How Responsible Is the American Press, (Aug. 3) impressed me tremendously by its timeliness, clarity and vigor. Why not have it reprinted in leaflet form and distributed widely through friends of the GUARDIAN? The appearance of such a reminder of journalism's responsibility to the public welfare (newspapers and other communication systems (alike) would, I am sure, greatly hearten those of us who understand that the breach of this responsibility is a primary cause of the political ignorance of great numbers of our people.

Long may your able pen be active in the public cause.

Guy W. Finney

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A Catholic theologian and a Protestant Episcopal minister who is also a nuclear scientist defended the use of atomic weapons recently as "morally justifiable under certain circumstances." Pointing out that the sun and every star in the Milky Way is a natural hydrogen bomb in the process of fission, Dr. Pollard said: "It is a sobering thought that God made more hydrogen bombs than anything else."

—From the Philadelphia **Inquirer,** reprinted in the Calgary (Alberta) **Herald,** Sept. 6.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: **A. S., North Vancouver, B.C.**

Go and see

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our trip to Cuba was one of the most exciting experiences of my life. Only by seeing it with one's own eyes can one really understand the full significance of the revolution, the creation of a new life for the 6,000,000 people who live on that little island south of us. The reporting here is so distorted that every North American who believes in the value and dignity of human beings should try to go to Cuba, to see for himself what this "humanist" revolution is doing.

A. W.

Well, now

CHICAGO, ILL.

To Harry's Clothes:

I contemplate looking over your stock with a view to purchase—that is, if the terms and discount are favorable. I do not know Welch & Evans, but really, to be able to make McManus look like anything is a considerable accomplishment.

Not to be outdone by you in your bargain offer, I shall pay for my purchase with $20 bills of which the slight imperfections can only be spotted by those people who make it a business to know where to look for them.

Walter Sutherland

Low grade

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

The quibble that's called law
and such!
It surely can't amount to much
If in a total century
It hasn't made the Negro free!

Veni Vidi

Sobell & Powers

ESTHERVILLE, IOWA

We, the American people, have been told repeatedly that the Russian communists are a godless and merciless people. But comparing these two cases it appears that these "godless communists" are more Christ-like than we "Christians." Therefore I urge President **Eisenhower** to grant Morton **Sobell a pardon** and thereby set an **example** for the communists in their deliberation for clemency for Francis Gary Powers.

William N. Doty

Artful dodgery

COSTA MESA, CALIF.

When George McClain threw down the gauntlet in the California primaries on medical and hospital care for senior citizens, and to the great surprise of many politicians built up a vote of almost three-quarters of a million, the two-party system boys took fright and labored hard to find some way, not to head, but to behead the movement. Thus, with tongue in cheek, they brought forward their respective bills after arranging to have them defeated. What artful dodgery!

John E. Trainor

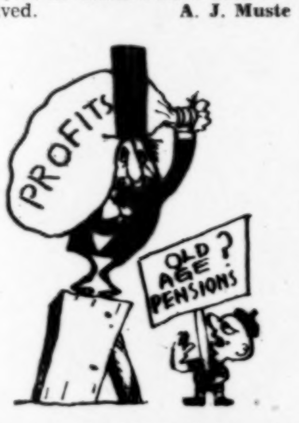
Polaris Action

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I was to express our appreciation for the picture and story about the Polaris Action Project in the GUARDIAN of Sept. 5, especially for the concluding sentence indicating people can send contributions to the New London office.

The Polaris project has taken hold in New London and the surrounding community to a much greater extent than any previous project in which I have been involved.

A. J. Muste



Dyad, London Daily Worker

"Go on, say it—where's the money coming from?"

Round trip

SPRING HILL, KANSAS

Chet Huntley suggests the Soviets use Mao Tse-tung as a passenger on their space ship. The Power Elite would be very happy if all revolutionary leaders would vanish into outer space.

If an apropos is in order at this point it just might be that there are 40 or 50 broadcasters whom we know to be expendable here in this citadel of Free Enterprise. However, if they have hopes of returning, they better take passage on a Soviet vehicle.

Yours for Peace and hands off Cuba!

Otis Wm. Johnson

Ed J. Green

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

The enclosed $5 is in memory of Ed J. Green of San Jose, a subscriber to the GUARDIAN, who passed away on August 15.

He devoted all his political thought and a great deal of effort to the socialist cause. He loved his fellow man and worked earnestly and faithfully for more than 40 years toward the betterment of conditions for the working people. He subscribed to more than 30 liberal papers, many from foreign countries, in order to know what was forward in the world, and he never ceased or feared to advocate what he believed to be right.

Violet & James Holmes

One of the few

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Though I can hardly afford the cost, I cannot be without the GUARDIAN. It is one of only a few American papers that tell the truth about what is happening in the world.

P. Bjarnason

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

IN THE FIFTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY session which opened last week, Secy. of State Dean Acheson opened fire with the strongest anti-Soviet speech ever delivered at the UN. Russia's Vishinsky followed him with the mildest speech ever given by a Soviet delegate. Acheson's "crude attacks" on the U.S.S.R. had nothing to do with the Assembly's work, said Vishinsky, who proceeded to submit in carefully uncontroversial form proposals already offered by Russia at previous Assemblies.

He called for condemnation of war propaganda "being conducted in a number of countries" (not specifying the U.S. as in the past); unconditional outlawing of the atomic weapon with strict international control, and condemnation as a war criminal of the first nation to use it; a Big Five Pact for strengthening peace, and reduction of Big Five armaments by one-third in 1950.

—From the National Guardian Sept. 27, 1950

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.
Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, $5 a year. Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 12, No. 50 401 September 26, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

On misinformation

(Continued from Page 1)

"By the way, did you hear about Lumumba when he was on a plane from Africa to the United Nations?"

"No, what happened?"

"When it came time for lunch, Lumumba asked for the menu, and when he didn't see anything he liked, he said to the stewardess, 'Take this away and bring me the passenger list'."

Can't you hear the appreciative laughter echoing up and down Africa? Can't you see the young and earnest delegates of the 14 new African states being admitted to the United Nations doubled over with mirth?

THIS IS THE WAY we picture people who, the **Christian Science Monitor** said (Sept. 14), "know that many in the West despise them, look upon them as irresponsible children, perhaps even less than human, incapable of running their own affairs."

They know other things too—even if our press has not told us. They know that when the UN force closed down Radio Leopoldville to Premier Lumumba, President Joseph Kasavubu was able to send tape recordings to Radio Brazzaville, under French control, for broadcast all over the Congo. They know that Moise Tshombe would not have lasted a day without Belgian arms (which landed at the UN-guarded airfield at Elizabethville in Katanga), Belgian officers and Belgian money.

The Africans are aware that the same Western voices which call so loudly for the UN to establish itself in the Congo become oddly silent when the Algerian National Liberation Front asks for UN intervention in Algeria. And above all, they are aware of this fact, as stated by the **Monitor's** assistant overseas news editor, Geoffrey Godsell:

"The Soviets have never humiliated them on their own continent, or imposed colonial rule on them. That is an albatross that hangs exclusively around Western necks."

This is not the Africa you have been reading about in your home town papers: It is Africa through Africa eyes. Listen to Charles Howard Sr. in a dispatch to the Baltimore **Afro-American** on Sept. 17:

"There is no doubt that the European press, particularly the element which represents the colonial powers, is determined to do its part in wrecking the Lumumba government . . . I am not popular here with the local press set-up. In press conferences they [the reporters] try to cut off my questions by asking others before the press officer can answer me. It appeared they wanted to shoot me for asking if all the Belgian troops had left the Congo. The press is part of a plot to oust Lumumba . . ."

THE CONGO—AND CUBA CLOSER TO HOME—are the touchstones by which to test the policy of nations today. The right of a nation to be master of its own house is the issue. The interference of other nations to withhold that right may be the determining factor in the question of peace or war. The need for honest reporting and interpretation of the news—to help people determine right from wrong—has never been more imperative.

This truth was noted, from another point of view, at a journalists' meeting in University Park, Pa., by Lester Markel, the Sunday editor of the New York **Times,** on Sept. 1. He told his audience he saw little hope for an end to the cold war until the press behind the Iron Curtain became free. "If all the Communist people know is what they read in the papers—and this is largely true—we must prepare for a long period of tension and turbulence . . . Many nations of the world do not have true pictures of other nations and the only real counter to untruth is truth."

Markel, looking homeward, urged a "continuing self-examination" of the American press. He said: "I believe the most important job in the world today is the education of the American public . . . In these times there rests a grave obligation on those who are responsible for the writing and presentation of the printed word."

To this last, we say Amen. But may we suggest to the distinguished editor that it takes two to make a cold war; that even if his description of the press of the socialist world is accurate—the newspaper report of his speech offered no gauge—there is little we can do about it. But there is much we can do about the matter of responsibility in the writing and presentation of news here. Suggested start: Drop the phrase "iron curtain" and cannibal jokes.

There is indeed plenty of room for self-examination. For if all we know is what we read in our newspapers, then God help America.

—THE EDITORS

DELEGATES SEE COMEBACK AGAINST RIVAL IUE

UE convention withholds endorsement of either party

By Robert E. Light
Guardian staff correspondent

ATLANTIC CITY

SHORTLY AFTER president Albert J. Fitzgerald called the independent United Electrical Workers' 25th convention to order Sept. 12, he said: "As a citizen of this country—not on behalf of my union—I say here and now that I shall vote against Sen. Kennedy in this fall's Presidential election." Politics was a recurring topic for the next five days among the 300 delegates.

Fitzgerald's stand was not the consensus of the convention. A unanimous resolution said that "neither political party has advanced a national ticket or platform that can be depended upon to advance a program responsive to the needs and interests of the people." It left "how or whether" to vote to the union member's "judgment and conscience."

But Fitzgerald's attacks on Kennedy found many responsive ears. Delegates applauded his review of Kennedy's role in the passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin "labor reform" law. Fitzgerald said that when a UE delegation accused Kennedy of being an enemy of the union, Kennedy affirmed the characterization. "Whenever an enemy of this union runs for office,' Fitzgerald said, "I will do everything I can to defeat him."

ATTACKS BOTH: UE's legislative director, Russ Nixon, sounded what seemed to be a majority note in a twin attack on the candidates. "There is no new Nixon and no new Republican party," he said. "It's the same Nixon and the same Republican party which is the enemy of everything we stand for here." He cut off applause and said: "Before you cheer, wait till you hear what I say about the other guy."

Nixon pointed out that the McClellan rackets committee report, which AFL-CIO president George Meany called an employer document, was written by Bobby Kennedy and "Jackie signed it without dissent."

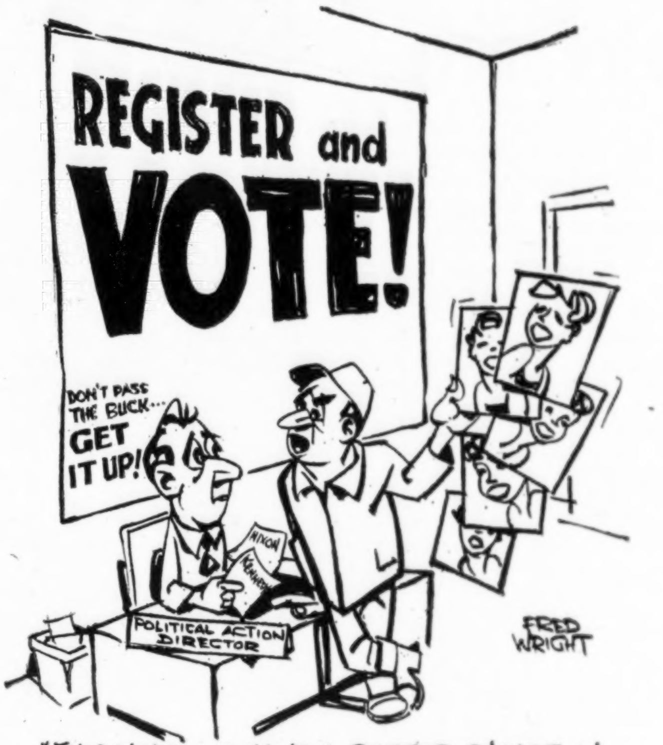
ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
He's for defeat of Kennedy

"Jack Kennedy was and remains fundamentally a McCarthyite," Nixon said. He pointed out that Kennedy voted to override President Truman's veto of the Internal Security bill in 1950. The same year, he said, Kennedy donated $1,000 to Nixon's campaign to defeat Helen Gahagan Douglas for the Senate.

Of Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.), Nixon said: "How can you trust a man on civil rights who wins the endorsement of Faubus of Arkansas, Talmadge of Georgia and Eastland of Mississippi?"

THE BLAME: He blamed the lack of independent political action by the AFL-CIO for the poor choice of candidates. "The labor movement," he said, "has become the labor business. The labor movement used to be driven by ideals and a sense of crusade, now it is driven by chauffeurs."

Nixon emphasized that there were "plenty of local candidates who justify and deserve our support." He singled out Democratic Congressmen John Dent (Pa.), William Meyer (Vt.), Henry Reuss (Wisc.), James Roosevelt (Calif.) and Frank Kowalski (Conn.).



"THIS YEAR WE HAVE A BETTER CHOICE IN THE 'MISS RHEINGOLD' CONTEST!"

Many delegates echoed Nixon's view that labor had "no place to go" in the Presidential election. Some said they would ignore the top of the ticket, but others admitted ruefully that they would vote for Kennedy because "you still have a chance with the Democrats." Frank Bradley, president of Local 107 in Essington, Pa., said that 75% of the workers in his area are Catholics, and, although the local will not endorse either candidate, many will vote for Kennedy.

FOR INDEPENDENT ACTION: At the close of the convention Fitzgerald said that he stood by his opening remarks, but, he added, "the country would be better off if Vice President Nixon had remained as a clerk in his father's grocery store."

The convention's frustration and cynicism was summed up by the unofficial floor slogan: "Register and vote for the s.o.b. of your choice."

The political action resolution pointed to an end to the dilemma: "In this spirit of independent political action, we will cooperate with all sections of the people, in the labor movement and outside it, who seek to establish in this country a political party that will provide the people with a meaningful choice of candidates and issues."

IUE SETS PACE: The convention reflected UE's frustration at no longer being the pace-setter in contract negotiations. The larger AFL-CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) sets the pace at the bargaining table and UE must accept, with minor variations, what its rival gets from the companies.

UE had more than 500,000 members during World War II. Its ranks had been somewhat reduced by the peacetime economy when UE was forced out of the CIO in the 1949 witch-hunt. With the companies' help, the CIO set up James B. Carey's IUE to raid UE. Simultaneously, Congressional committees moved against the union. In almost every city where UE held a local, union leaders were subpenaed to testify to their political beliefs and associations.

During the "McCarthy years," UE lost hundreds of thousands of members to IUE and other unions that joined the raiding. It also lost about 50,000 members after the AFL-CIO merger in 1955, when some local leaders decided that the interests of the membership would be best protected "in the mainstream of labor."

CONDITIONS WORSE: UE still has some 80,000 members in the U.S. and Canada but it can no longer claim a majority at the General Electric and Westinghouse chains, which set standards for the industry.

In 1955 IUE agreed to five-year contracts with GE and Westinghouse to give the industry "economic stability" and enable it to expand. UE was forced to accept similar contracts.

In the next five years conditions worsened in the plants. Labor-saving machinery and speed-up cut down the work force. Some plants moved from unionized towns to unorganized communities.

In 1958, when the GE and Westinghouse contracts were reopened for wage reviews, UE proposed to forego a pay rise for a reduction of the work week from 40 hours to 35 hours with no reduction in pay. The offer was rejected by the companies. IUE ignored it.

Negotiations for a new contract with the major companies began last month. UE introduced the shorter work week as the answer to automation and run-away shops. GE and Westinghouse proposed a three-year contract with minor wage increases and a clause which would allow them to re-assign and re-train employes without regard to seniority. IUE and UE have rejected the proposals, but IUE will not accept its rival's offer for a joint fight for a shorter work week.

JOB SECURITY: The delegates realized that UE will have to agree to whatever IUE gets but they still wanted to press for job security. They understood that a fight for the shorter work week will not be joined until the major unions take it on. UE could take credit for a first step. Through its efforts, Rep. Kowalski (D-Conn.) introduced a bill to make it an unfair labor practice for an employer to move work to a new location to break a union or to refuse jobs to former employes at a new site.

The convention also noted a new stage in the union's history. Until recently UE conventions were concerned with the fight to stay alive. But now it was looking to a return of its lost plants and the organization of new shops. UE could count 6,000 new members in the last two years and some near-misses in elections to regain major locals. It lost an election to regain the 8,000-member GE local in Lynn, Mass., by 270 votes when Sen. Kennedy and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) intervened for IUE.

UE also lost an election at the Westinghouse Air Arm plant in Baltimore (GUARDIAN, Sept. 12) through a joint effort of the company, an AFL-CIO union and a Senate witch-hunting committee. This month it lost an election in Sunnyvale, Calif., when Westinghouse sent each employe a letter urging UE's defeat.

NEXT TIME: But the close votes gave the delegates encouragement for the belief that "next time we will win." Organization director James Matles advocated "laying it on the line" to employes before an election begins. "We have to prepare them for the red-baiting and company intimidation before the election," he said. "If they have no stomach for the fight, let us know it before the voting."

Clarence E. Pickett, secy, emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee, was a guest speaker. He advocated admission of China to the UN. After he spoke the convention adopted a resolution calling for an end to the cold war and "its replacement by an era of peaceful coexistence of all nations" and a strengthening of the UN.

Although Cuba was not mentioned from the platform, several delegates saw the attacks on the Castro government as the boss' fight. They said that the Cuban expropriation of U.S. businesses was a means of getting rid of super-profiteers. One delegate said: "If you plant your seeds in another man's garden, you can't be surprised when he wants to reap the harvest."

SIT-INS ENDORSED: Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, leader of the integration fight in Birmingham, Ala., said: "In our day, brothers and sisters, we shall see segregation wiped out. My people are coming out of the valleys and are on their way to the bright mountain tops, so help us God." The convention endorsed the Southern sit-in demonstrations and called for legislation to guarantee voting rights for Negroes and for a Federal FEPC.

UE counsel Frank Donner's discussion of continuing McCarthyism preceded the adoption of a resolution for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The delegates sat rapt when Rose Russell, Teachers Union legislative director, spoke on the workingman's stake in education. She said that McCarthyism had stifled ideas and discussion in the classroom. Congress' failure to appropriate funds for schools, she said, left the classrooms overcrowded and the teachers underpaid. She seemed to strike home when she pointed out that a high school education had once been enough for persons seeking skilled jobs, but in the age of science, she said, a college education is important. At the going rate of about $2,000 a year for tuition and maintenance, most working people cannot afford to send their children to college.

LABOR'S CONSCIENCE: The delegates were not satisfied to be listeners. Many were old hands at UE conventions and asked to be heard on every issue. Discussion followed every platform speech. Most delegates spoke to the point; each had an experience to recount or an opinion to voice. A wag at the press table said: "If UE gets any more democratic, we'll be here till next year."

The delegates were visibly proud of their union. They spoke of UE's fighting tradition and its reputation as a tough union on employers. Newer members who had been in other unions praised UE's democracy. Those who had been through the tough fights took pride that the Union had held together against the terrible pressures.

If UE no longer is the mighty lion of the labor movement, at least it remains its conscience. Against the meek voices in the House of Labor, UE still roars.

THE MEANING OF THE ACT OF BOGOTA

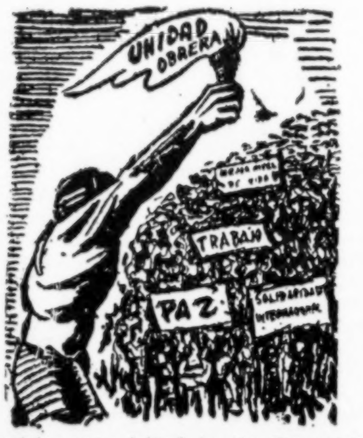
U. S. aid to Latin America seen as anti-Castro move

THE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE of the Americas wound up on Sept. 13 at Bogota, Colombia, with mutual praise, back-slaps and bear-hugs among the delegates, and a pledge by Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon of help for Latin American social welfare projects.

With great ostentation the delegates signed the Act of Bogota which promises land reform, housing for the ill-housed, education for all and reform of the tax system which soaks the poor. Cuba was the only dissenter at the conference. The Dominican Republic was absent because Dictator Trujillo is currently in the doghouse.

The show of harmony, however, was superficial; the basic problems of Latin America remain despite the sonorous but circumscribed pledges and the high-sounding but vague promises. Unindustrialized, the Latin American countries are dependent on the export of about 15 raw materials and food and fiber commodities, such as coffee, bananas, meats and wool, tin, zinc, lead, copper and oil.

FINANCIAL SQUEEZE: Price fluctuations in the international market, tariff walls and quota systems set up by the industrialized Western countries and the loss of such former export areas as the countries now joined in the European Common Market have played havoc with Latin American economy. Last year the loss amounted to more than a billion dollars. While export prices have gone down, prices of consumer goods Latin Americans are obliged to import have risen steeply.



The Bogota conference was expected to formulate concrete proposals for alleviating the extreme poverty of the Latin American masses, stabilizing the prices of export commodities and diversifying agriculture and building modern industries. Dillon brought an offer of $500,000,000 in aid for welfare projects. Of the poor Latin Americans, he said:

"We must help them to replace a hovel with a home. We must help them acquire ownership of the land and the means for its productive use. We must help them to enjoy and use the fruits of modern knowledge for themselves, their family and their country."

THE PROMISES: In the Act of Bogota, the Latin delegates promised land and tax reform legislation, low-cost housing, eradication of illiteracy, industrial and agricultural instruction and measures to improve health, nutrition and sanitary methods. Neither the Act of Bogota nor Dillon's offer of U.S. aid, however, contained any concrete proopsals.

Promises of land and tax reform have been made in the past, only to be broken. Short of a revolutionary change in the governments—as in Cuba—no changes were likely to take place, since they would be opposed, as in the past, by giant landowners and investors in raw materials, most of whom are North Americans. When Venezuelan President Betancourt recently canceled new oil concessions and slashed rents 25%, there was powerful opposition from big investors and a flight of capital, reducing dollar reserves from one billion to six hundred millions in the last twelve months.

The shortcomings of the Dillon offer were exposed by Cuban delegates Enrique Serrano Avila and Regino Boti. Avila noted the absence of any proposal to eliminate the speculative market activities in the U.S. that consumed part of the price of Latin American raw materials. Boti, a Harvard educated economist and Cuba's Minister of Economy, noted that Dillon had refrained from any capital aid offer without strings.

FOR SELF-RELIANCE: Boti urged Latin Americans to undertake their economic development by their own efforts and sacrifices. Foreign investments, he said, should take a secondary place; they should be offered without strings and at a low interest rate through an international organization and distributed according to priorities established by the recipient country itself. He reiterated Cuban Premier Castro's earlier proposal for a ten-year, $30 billion Latin development fund, and also noted the potential source of development capital in the $9 billion foreign investment in Latin America.

Other Latin delegates, while dissociating themselves from Cuban accusations against U.S. policy, nevertheless agreed with Boti that the Dillon offer was too little and, perhaps, too late. They had already dubbed the offer privately as the "Castro plan" since it was prompted by the panic in Washington at the widespread support in Latin America for the Cuban revolution.

THESE BOGOTA KIDS COULD USE SOME U.S. AID
But not much is likely to reach them from the Bogota conference

Brazilian delegate Augusto Frederico Schmidt bluntly asked if the $500,000,000 was the limit of U.S. aid and if the U.S. had no program of long-term, low-interest capital loans repayable in local soft currencies. He said: "We cannot eliminate the old enemies of this hemisphere with temporary tactics."

PRIVATE CAPITAL: Dillon hastily said that Washington had further aid plans, but this involved "the important role of private capital as a source of funds for development." He urged Latin delegates to create the proper climate for "increased flow of foreign private capital," and earmarked for foreign investment the fields of "power, transport, industry, agriculture and mining." How proper climate for foreign investment—which has always meant low taxes and labor cost and political control—could be reconciled with land and tax reform remained unanswered.

In what seemed to many observes a sinister reference to Cuba's future, Dillon also warned: "Arbitrary and punitive actions against foreign private enterprises, such as we have witnessed in one American country in recent months, discourage the private investment community not only in the country which takes such action but elsewhere as well."

This sounded to many like an invitation to Latin American governments to help reverse the process of social and economic change in Cuba—and thus destroy Cuba's influence on other Latin Americans—if they wished to keep open the channel of foreign investments in their own countries.

THE REAL MEANING: Dillon rushed across the floor to embrace Schmidt, and surface amity was restored at the conference, with Cuba alone remaining aloof. On their way home, however, the delegates were undoubtedly pondering what the London **Economist** said about the U.S. offer:

"The Latin delegates have to digest the fact that this money has already been used to drag them into line against Cuba, and is even now not out of its political wrapping; the President is authorized to cut off aid to any government that gives Cuba help . . . Thus the Administration has provided food for two persistent Latin American suspicions—the one, that the U.S. still assumes a right of supervision over Latin American politics; the other, that aid is a weapon against Soviet penetration first, and against poverty only second."

But he's a member of our team!

The following editorial appeared in the Aug. 19 issue of the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times.

THAT ZEALOUS MEMBER of the Free World's Arsenal of Democracy, Spain's Generalissimo Franco, is right up there at the front lines in the war of words against Premier Fidel Castro.

Just the other day his government branded as "falsehoods and calumnies" some Castro charges against Franco and the Roman Catholic Church.

But at the same time, an annual celebration in Spain has been bigger than ever this year: Cheering the World War II move that sent Franco's Blue Division off to fight with the Germans.

The Blue Division fought on the Eastern Front against the Russians, Franco has said soothingly, so of course there was no insult intended to the Allies of the West.

Here is what veterans of the Blue Division were told: "You represent a human and spiritual elite, not only of Spain but of the civilized, Christian, Western world . . . We know that today's world is returning to our trenches, that it is speaking our language, that it is denouncing the enemy that we fought yesterday . . ."

For a nice reunion touch, German war songs were sung by the gatherings.

The United States and the United Nations were not so enlightened at the end of World War II. The UN said: "In origin, nature, structure, and general conduct the Franco regime is a fascist regime," and barred Spain from membership. This judgment was made simply because Franco ran a one-party, no-vote empire.

President Eisenhower said in his Inaugural Address, "We shall never try to placate an aggressor by the false and wicked bargain of trading honor for security."

But soon after the light dawned. As a strategic European defense location, Spain became the home for U.S. air and naval bases in exchange for a ten-year treaty worth about $226,000,000 to Franco.

The UN soon had a new member, too, with the backing of Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. Those citizens who had supported the Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War were curtly told to go find a new cause.

And so the Free World lines up against the forces of World Communism, and wonders why little nations emerging from colonial cocoons look confused about which side to join.

After all, these little nations are told, this is much more than a power struggle—it's a question of ideology.

You don't really suppose they were hungry, do you?

ONE OF THE LAST remaining symbols of frontier adventure, the African safari, may be headed for oblivion, a professional hunter from the British colony of Kenya said today.

Eric Rundgren, who has led hunting and photographic expeditions into the jungles of central and east Africa for the past 10 years, [said that] in those colonies and protectorates which have been granted self-rule, game policies were abandoned in the inevitable confusion of establishing a new government, and native tribes previously held in check have killed indiscriminately for food.

—St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**

DR. DU BOIS REVIEWS CONGO'S HISTORY

The world must wake soon to bar war in Africa

By W. E. B. Du Bois
Special to the Guardian

FLORENCE, ITALY

CONGO WAS A TRAGIC miscalculation. Little Belgium had inherited El Dorado. Hundreds of millions of dollars poured into this land annually from a great territory 40 times its size. In this empire was one of the world's greatest deposits of copper to carry electric power over sea and land; elephant tusks to furnish piano keys for lovely music, palm oil, fruit, rare woods, fibers and lately uranium for bombs to raise hell.

Nobody knows how vast a horde of wealth Congo has poured into Belgium, Europe and North America in the last century, for this is a secret of individual initiative in the capitalist world of Nordic supremacy. But all men including Pope and Protestant hierarchy and learned colleges know how many cheap laborers were slaves of white Europe to make Belgians clean, comfortable and learned and leaders of civilization. Once the atrocities of the Congo aroused the world and the Belgian folk took Congo out of the private purse of Leopold to rule themselves.

REMEMBRANCE: I remember talking to the first Belgian Socialist premier in the Twenties, and his firm promise to institute reform and stop cutting off the hands of lagging black workers. I remembered the legends of the King of Congo whom the Portuguese met in the 15th century and whose royal son was educated in Lisbon. I had read as a boy Stanley's flamboyant and lying proclamation of the great new Christian Kingdom of Congo which Civilization was about to rear in the Dark Continent, to lead the natives to God.

Centuries passed: The 16th with its great flowering of imperial black Africa south of the Sahara; the 17th, with the duel of Fetish and Moslem, and the Long March of Bantu from Niger to Zambesi; the 18th century and the British trade in slaves from Africa to America; and the 19th century when Europe stole the world and built its culture on the degradation of Asia and Africa.

CENTURY OF WAR: Out of this wretched past was naturally born this century of war and destruction, with the West stubbornly determined to restore its domination of mankind, and with the East—in Europe, Asia and Africa—increasingly set on freedom and independence.

THESE CONGOLESE CELEBRATED ON THE EVE OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE
Since then powerful forces have conspired to keep them in subjection

Belgium, despite its baptism in war and rapine, because it lay in the crossing paths of greedy empires, made peace with all, and came to understanding with the wheeling buzzards of the West.

If you wanted to make money invest in the Congo enterprises: profitable, respectable private enterprise, paying high and regular dividends, and no questions asked. Moreover the natives were happy; their tribal rule was intact and their chiefs happy so long as the black slaves toiled for their white masters, and the wealth rolled into Europe.

When in 1921 I held a session of the Pan-African congress in Brussels, and one young Congolese, Panda, ventured to join us in criticism of Belgian rule, the Belgian press raged: "Bolsheviks," spies and revolutionists they called us; the natives were content and the Holy Catholic church was giving them enough education for their good; not too much; not enough to make them unhappy and demanding more than their few brains could use.

BURSTING BUBBLE: Congo had no such unhappy intelligentsia as the British had nursed in West Africa and the French in Senegal. Even if Belgium did not have enough trained Congolese to educate even as physicians, at least Black Congo did not want to vote. So Belgium crowed even as late as the World Exposition of 1958.

And then in 1960 the bubble burst and black Congo demanded not only a share in government but independence. It was inconceivable. It was unbelievable. Even when my wife, Shirley Graham, who read my message to the Sixth Pan-African Congress, meeting as the All-African Conference in Accra in 1958, told me of Lumumba there demanding independence for Congo, I thought he was an unthinking fanatic.

But I pride myself on ability to learn; on seeing what appears before my eyes. Yesterday, I was paying farewell to the President of Ghana, just as he was taking leave of Lumumba, Prime Minister of Congo, who was on his way home from a meeting of the Security Council which had ordered Belgium out of Congo because it dare not do otherwise. After Lumumba flew home in a Russian jet plane, President Nkrumah and I talked for a few moments.

THE BEGINNING: We knew that the trials of Congo had not ended but just begun. The luxury-loving West, which was parading and yachting, gambling and horse-racing, dressing and dancing and keeping darkies out of highly paid unions, was not going to give up Congo millions without a desperate struggle even if it involved world war. Ghana, the Soviet Union and China must furnish capital and technical skill to keep the great wheels of Congo enterprise running; but running not for profit of white skilled labor and the idle rich, but for the starving, sick and ignorant Africans.

From me the President asked but one service: the starting again of the **Encyclopedia Africana** which I tried desperately to begin back in 1900. We must unite Africa, he said, and know its history and culture. Against all dreams of an independent black Congo stand arrayed today forces of terrible strength: the organized business enterprise of the Western world; incorporated monopoly: with secret concealed, anonymous personalities; ruled by dictators, amenable to no laws of morality whose only object is gain of wealth, at any cost of life, liberty or of human happiness.

This faceless, conscienceless power is today armed to the teeth and spending for force and violence more money than for anything else on earth and hiring all the ability and genius of the world which is for sale, for the murder, rape, destruction and degradation of man, which Big Business wants accomplished; and hiding this from common knowledge by every device available to man.

TRUTH IS WINNING: Ranged therefore against free and independent Congo is the Oppenheimer Gold and Diamond Trust, the Lever Brothers world monopolies under its legion of names; the oil trusts, Standard, Shell and others, the French, Swiss and West German cartels, and that part of the Christian church and Moslem religion which is dependent on the charity of the rich.

But the truth is winning; socialism is spreading, communism is becoming more and more possible to increasing millions:

> "Fear not, O little flock the foe,
> That madly seeks thine overthrow
> Fear not its rage and Power!"

Finally down toward Land's End, on the Cape of Evil Omen, are some three million whites in the Union of South Africa, the Rhodesias and Southwest Africa, who are determined to rule 20 or more million blacks as slaves and servants. They say this brazenly and openly in the face of the world and none do anything, save black Africa. And here the next world war will begin unless the world wakes up and wakes soon.

PRO-BOMB LABORITES RIDICULED

Ban-the-bomb rebels win in Britain's trade unions

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WHILE BAN THE BOMB crusaders got a rousing welcome everywhere on a Scotland - to - London march for peace, right-wing union "leaders" invited national ridicule in their efforts to stem the peace tide within organized labor.

Two resolutions on defense policy confronted the annual Trades Union Congress at Douglas, Isle of Man. On a basis of mandates to delegations, the pro-Bomb resolution reflecting the official Labor Party-TUC line had no chance against the anti-Bomb resolution sponsored by the Transport Workers, Britain's largest union. Among delegations instructed to support the TWU resolution was that of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. In a pre-congress huddle, right-wing AEU president William Carron pressured his delegation into a majority of one for **also** supporting the official resolution. The two resolutions were diametrically opposed, and even newspapers hero-worshipping Carron for his red-baiting vigor deplored this desperate tactic.

BURLESQUE: The farce degenerated into burlesque when the card votes on the two resolutions were taken. (Under this system, each delegation leader holds up a card bearing the number of his union membership in thousands.) The announced result was a majority of 690,000 for the pro-Bomb and only 235,000 for the anti-Bomb resolution. After evening papers had rushed out "SHOCK FOR THE REBELS" headlines, it was discovered that 930,000 anti-Bomb votes had not been counted, and the anti-Bomb majority was in fact nearly double the pro-Bomb majority.

The error was due to the AEU's Carron having—as the teller explained later—"held his card just in front of his chest, not what I call 'up' " when the anti-Bomb vote was taken. The number on Carron's card was 930. It was noted that the anti-Bomb sentiment was so strong that it would have carried the day even without the AEU.

The machine having got out of control due to progressive Frank Cousins' accession to leadership of the once-docile TWU, the right-wing hierarchy have made increasingly clear their intention to defy contrary decisions on defense policy by the TUC and by next month's Labor Party conference. In a desperate plea for other union chiefs to follow Carron's example, Labor Party defense spokesman George Brown has declared that decisions on the Bomb are "emphatically not fundamental to socialism." Yet even to the Tory pro-Bomb **Daily Mail** the struggle over nuclear defense is "of deep conscience and importance," and the paper is "sickened" by the "threadbare political tricks" with which Labor right-wingers are conducting it in an effort to save party leader Gaitskell.

NEW DEFEAT: A further disaster for Gaitskell, who wants to revise the public-ownership Clause Four of his party's constitution, was a unanimous call by TUC speakers for **more** public ownership and control of industry. Plenty of Gaitskellites were present, but kept silent in face of the clear majority stand. Once again the press was full of speculations as to how or whether Gaitskell could retain party leadership.

The **Express** predicted he would "ride roughshod over the rebels" at next month's party conference and refuse to resign even in face of clear defeat on defense policy. Other pundits thought that the "frantic efforts" now being made by the Gaitskellites would result in some "compromise" resolution capable of carrying the conference.

This would, according to the **Mail**, "combine adherence to NATO at the present time and a promise to make all-round nuclear disarmament the main prop of any future government." The **Mail** thought that the lack of any strong alternative leader might carry Gaitskell through in this way, but that "there is about as much honor in this 'solution' as in some vicious Victorian family which parades arm-in-arm to Church on Sundays and spends the rest of the week at each other's throats."

THE MARCH: Meanwhile the three-week Ban The Bomb march was moving through northern industrial areas on the second half of the trek to London. The march left Edinburgh 2,000 strong, and the 70-odd "hard core" headed by Canon Stanley Evans of Southwark Cathedral are being joined all along the route by Nuclear Disarmament, Quaker, trade union and other groups. The route is being papered with anti-Bomb leaflets, and rallies are being held in each town. The marchers are sleeping in town halls and schools, and at some places are being given a civic reception.

September's first weekend also saw the campaign to close U.S. bases resumed with fresh vigor, with ten youth organizations participating and demonstrations in London, Manchester, Bristol, Brighton and elsewhere.

SYRIAN WOMEN WASH WHEAT TODAY AS THEY DID IN THE DAYS OF THE CRUSADES
Syria's union with Egypt has made it a virtual colony to serve Nasser's plans to industrialize Egypt

BEHIND THE UNREST IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Cairo's drive to rule Arab world

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent
(Second of three articles)

BEIRUT, LEBANON

RECENT DISCLOSURE of United Arab Republic plans for another attempted coup in Iraq, to be followed by coups in Jordan, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, underlines once more Cairo's determination to establish its domination in the Arab world.

Arab unity—in President Nasser's terms—has always meant Egyptian domination. This was to be achieved by undermining existing Arab governments and by making Egypt, already the largest and most advanced Arab country, the industrial heartland of an otherwise agricultural Arab world.

Pursuit of this goal involved, in the regime's early years, substantial concessions to the West in return for its recognition of Egypt's "leadership" role and investment capital. When this failed (Baghdad Pact), "positive neutrality" was proclaimed as a means to counter Western influence by that of the Soviets and so win freedom of action on the local or Arab level—as well as Eastern markets and aid in industrialization.

The democratic-revolutionary implications of the anti-imperialist movement forged at that time soon forced into the open the divergence between its aims and Nasser's.

INDUSTRIALIZATION: Nasser sought to contain the popular movement, now centered in Baghdad, and to prevent Iraq's industrialization, which was contingent upon Soviet aid to Iraq. Therefore, he again turned to the West, while launching a chain of conspiracies against Iraq. (The Mosul revolt occurred on the eve of the Soviet-Iraq aid agreement.)

All of Cairo's conspiracies have been unsuccessful. Is its industrialization program more realistic?

Egypt's living standards are among the world's lowest. But to maintain even these for a multiplying population requires an annual investment of about £130,000,000, considerably larger than the country's annual savings or economic surplus available for investment. (The Egyptian pound is worth $2.87 on the official exchange, somewhat less on the free market.)

Egypt's chief capital is its people; real advance requires mobilization of their energies. The Cairo regime talks of a socialist-democratic-cooperative society, but its dazzling promises have never been matched by an effort to finance their realization.

The present aim is "to double national income per capita in ten years." This is an accelerated version of an unrealistic earlier plan to reach that goal in 20 years. It was presented following the regime's spectacular failures in Iraq. One economist has estimated that if 20% of the national income were annually devoted to investment—a high figure even in a rich country—the target might be reached in 100 years. The current rate of investment is claimed to be 17%.

HIGH FINANCE: The second five year plan (1960-64) calls for an investment of about £1,600 million or roughly £320,000,000 a year. Where is this money to come from?

Private investment was originally scheduled to make a "substantial contribution," about £50,000,000 or more annually, but this figure was later cut drastically. Under the Nasser regime private investment has dropped sharply not only relatively (to be expected as government assumed responsibility for economic development), but also absolutely: from £112,000,000 in 1950 to £39,000,000 in 1956. It is even lower now.

The absolute fall may be partially explained by the fact that the biggest share of private investment is provided by middle business, which has been progressively squeezed by a government policy to strengthen the big monopolies. Its measures against small and middle businessmen, especially in the last two years, coupled with shrinking purchasing power, are forcing hundreds, perhaps thousands, to close their doors.

Government efforts to secure capital for public investment have been handicapped by its reluctance to tap corporate wealth. Record-breaking profits of the monopolies were virtually untouched until a 1959 decree required that 5% of profits be used to buy government bonds. Corporate taxes remain among the lowest anywhere, and the government opposes any increase in direct taxation, which represents only about 17% of total tax revenue.

Another bar to public investment has been the government's systematic squeezing of the people over the years—even before industrialization really started—to get money for projects which profit mainly the monopolies. These measures have included deficit financing, printing of £150,000,000 in Treasury bills (and hence inflation), and the organization of various compulsory pension and insurance funds as a major source of capital for government financing. (Whether these funds are also sound insurance schemes remains to be seen.)

FOREIGN AID: Long-term, low-interest credits from socialist countries made it possible for Egypt to launch its industrialization program. Aid from both East (about £205,000,000) and West (about £125,000,000) will help meet critical foreign exchange needs. However, some foreign loans may create repayment problems later on and efficient use of foreign aid is hampered by lack of any real planning.

All these sources taken together have not met total capital needs. It was recently revealed, for example, that the Economic Organization, which handles public investment, was in debt—to the Banks and the Sequestrator General—to the tune of almost £30,000,000 at the end of 1958, largely for properties purchased from foreign interests after Suez.

The pressure to obtain capital has recently forced more drastic policies, such as the nationalization of the Misr Bank, citadel of Egypt's biggest monopolists. The government gained the right to direct the investment of the Bank's £106,000,000 deposits into the development program as it sees fit, and also gained de facto control of the 24 Misr companies (owned 70% to 95% by the Bank).

The nationalization underlines the nature of the big business-government relationship. It is a close partnership in behalf of big business as a class but one in which the military dictatorship controls policy, sometimes at the expense of individual capitalists.

CHANGED STATUS: President Nasser a year ago called the Misr Bank a "people's bank," owned by small shareholders. It is now admitted that its shares are held by a handful of the country's biggest monopolists.

These owners lose personal direction of their large holdings and may eventually even lose the capital itself since the government did not promise cash redemption of the 12-year compensation bonds.

At the same time the Misr monopolists gain a bigger voice in government economic councils, and greater government aid, especially in establishing their domination over the Syrian economy and acquiring a controlling position in such Arab projects as the proposed Arab Developement Bank, Arab Airlines, Arab Pipelines, and the Arab Navigation Co.

The extreme narrowness of the internal market is a second major obstacle to industrialization. The 1952 land reform, designed in part to widen this market, brought a redistribution of income in favor of workers and peasants but it was very slight. Land prices and rents were originally reduced but rose again until by 1958 they were higher than in 1952.

Rent maximums were widely ignored as land prices rose. Peasants sometimes paid as much as double the rents fixed by law. Land reform beneficiaries sometimes paid more in annual installments than they had formerly paid in rent to landlords. So great was peasant discontent that in 1958 the period of payments was extended and reforms in taxes and rents have now been announced.

LITTLE IMPROVEMENT: Other gestures towards "social equality" have also been forced by popular dissatisfaction. But the regime remains committed to policies which prevent the expansion of the internal market if they do not in fact narrow it. Since 1952 real per capita income has increased little, if at all, and for the masses has declined.

The regime "plans" not in terms of the needs of its multiplying people but of manufacturing import substitutes and "invading foreign markets." But producing substitutes for imports, consumed by only a small portion of the population, cannot provide a basis for industrialization and has already produced a number of fiascos.

Exports are unlikely to be decisive. Cost and quality of Egyptian industrial goods are not competitive since the monopoly structure of industry has protected inefficiency and resulted in low per capita output.

In this early stage of industrialization, and in the absence of any real concept of planning, only a part of the factories already constructed are actually producing. Yet industry is even now experiencing stagnation and in some sectors (like textiles where a big expansion is under way) there is a crisis of overproduction.

This explains the all-out effort to exploit Syria as a virtual colony and the continuing interest in adding to the U.A.R. domain.

The Cairo regime is a military dictatorship with tight controls stretching down into the smallest villages. In the absence of an organized opposition it might be able to ride out indefinitely the suffering and discontent of its people. Its fate, however, like that of earlier rulers of the Nile Valley, may be decided not in Cairo but in Damascus.

NEXT WEEK: Syria's struggle for independence.

A SPECIAL NOTE
to those who wrote in for information on our December-January Holiday Tour to Cuba
Next Week's Guardian
will contain the exciting details. Plan now to join the tour, for one week or two.
Special Rate for Children under 12

THE STORY OF DR. HANS MARIA GLOBKE

Adenauer's No. 1 aide wrote Nuremberg laws

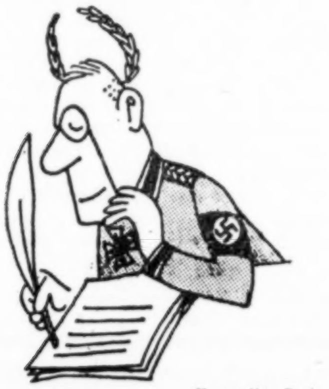
By Edith Anderson
Special to the Guardian

BERLIN

IT NOW APPEARS established that the most inflluential official in West Germany, next to Chancellor Adenauer, is the man who drafted the "legal" basis for Adolf Eichmann's extermination of 6,000,000 Jews. Hans Maria Globke, the Chancellor's personal assistant, composed not only the legal commentary to the anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws but the laws themselves, according to documents recently turned up by the German Democratic Republic.

Dr. Globke's personal file includes a letter from Wilhelm Frick, Nazi Minister of the Interior, to Hitler's deputy Rudolf Hess on April 21, 1938, asking for approval of Globke's promotion to a higher post. It states:

"Senior Government Counselor Dr. Globke is undoubtedly one of the most capable and hard-working officials in my Ministry. He played an outstanding part in drafting the following laws:



Humanite, Paris

"a) The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor of Sept. 15, 1935.
"b) The Law for the Protection of the Genetic Health of the German People of Oct. 18, 1935. . . .
"d) The Law for the Changing of Family and Given Names of Jan. 1, 1938."

PAVED THE WAY: The file and other documents were shown at a press conference in East Berlin at the end of July. Since then further revelations about Globke have appeared in the East German press, with repeated hints of grimmer exposés if he failed to quit his post. He is State Secy. of the Federal Chancery Office, which makes him Adenauer's Sherman Adams.

Globke's functions in the Nazi Ministry of the Interior matched Eichmann's in the Reich Security Headquarters—both were in charge of Jewish questions, East German representative Albert Norden told the press conference. Their work dove-tailed: Globke visited Austria and Czechoslovakia to extend the Nuremberg Laws to those countries; then Eichmann set up central offices there for the liquidation of the Jews.

After the attack on Poland, Globke laid the "legal" foundation for re-settling the Poles and the Jews, as it was called; Eichmann followed up for the Reich Security Headquarters. "On Aug. 17, 1938," Norden said, "a decree written by Globke laid down that every Jew must report to the Gestapo. He thus handed Himmler and Eichmann full lists of the Jews due for destruction. Globke prepared the way with laws and decrees, and Eichmann put the decrees into practice."

Prof. Norden said that all the material on Globke and Eichmann would be sent to the Israeli Public Prosecutor.

BLOOD AND HONOR: The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor forbade marriage or extra-marital relations between Jews and "citizens of German or racially related blood." The penalty was imprisonment. The law also forbade Jews to employ in their households "female citizens of German or racially related blood under 45 years of age." The Law for the Protection of the Genetic Health of the German People barred marriage to couples who failed to pass a highly personal medical examination.

In his commentary, which interpreted the Nuremberg Laws for the guidance of the courts, Globke extended this law to prevent marriages "likely to produce racially undesirable descendants." The Law for the changing of Family and Given Names required every Jewish male and every Jewish female to take the middle names of Israel or Sarah, respectively, to report the change at their local police precinct, and to include it in their signatures on every occasion.

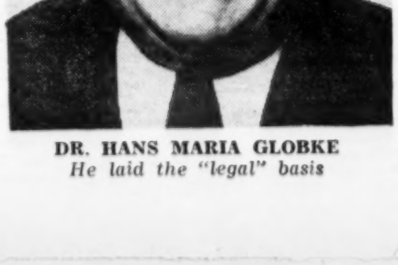
It was Globke who worked out the Decree on Passports for Jews, along with the war criminal Dr. Best, Reich Commissar in Denmark. It cut off the escape of countless Jews by stipulating that the letter "J" be stamped into every Jewish passport. By this device the Gestapo rounded up most German Jews after the Nazis occupied Holland and sent them to the extermination camps.

GOOD CHRISTIAN: "I believed that it was my duty to stay at my post and give what little help I could to those people whom the Nazis were persecuting," Globke told the Manchester **Guardian** in an interview on June 17. (The East German campaign against him had begun before the July press conference.) Later, when the evidence was presented, Globke told newsmen that he was a "Catholic Christian" and as such was "fallible." When he was criticized by the chairman of the West German Central League of Democratic Organizations of Resistance Fighters and Victims of Persecution, he said: "Herr Unger, we are both Christians, and we know that we have sometimes erred."

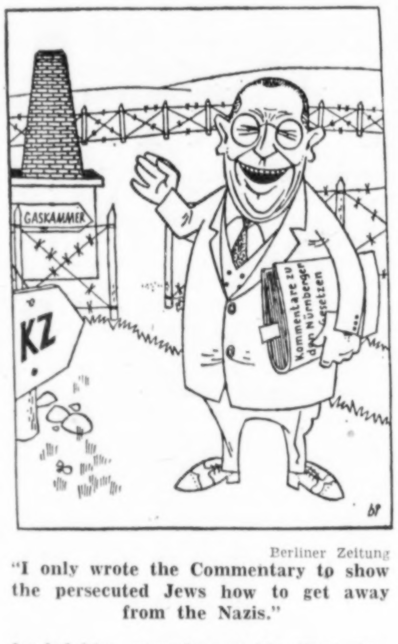
As a Christian, he had made a full confession and received absolution from Father Laurentius Simer, head of the Dominican Order in North Rhine-Westphalia, to whose monastery he had fled when the Nazi Reich collapsed. Cardinal Graf Preysing had also taken Globke under his wing after the war.

ADENAUER'S DEFENSE: When doubts were first raised about Globke, Adenauer waved them away: "Oh, leave good old Herr Globke alone." In 1951 he told the West German Parliament: "I shall not allow any attacks on my honor or the honor of Ministerial Director Globke . . . I have scarcely ever known an official of such loyalty and objectivity as Herr Globke."

He was fully aware of Globke's role in the Jewish extermination laws, but defended him, according to the West Berlin **Nachtexpress** of June 7, 1951, as follows: "That Ministerial Director Dr. Globke worked on the commentaries to the Nuremberg Laws was dictated by the period and is not to be condemned in principle." He told the **Suddeutsche Zeitung** in March, 1956, that he "'had no intention of parting with" Globke. "I know of no one with whom I could replace him," Adenauer said.



DR. HANS MARIA GLOBKE
He laid the "legal" basis



GASKAMMER
KZ
Kommentare zu den Nürnberger Gesetzen
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Berliner Zeitung

"I only wrote the Commentary to show the persecuted Jews how to get away from the Nazis."

Here are a few quotes from the Commentary "dictated by the period":

"Judaism is a foreign body in all the European nations." "The Jew is completely foreign to us in blood and nature. Hence dissimilation is the only possible solution." "The Jewish problem . . . must also be solved for the centuries to come, in the political, economic and sociological fields."

HE SANG: Although No. 101 on the list of war criminals, Globke went unpunished after giving evidence against his superiors at the Nuremberg trial. Robert Kempner, the American prosecutor, said Globke was "one of the most valuable assistants of the prosecution."

Up to the last moment Globke had been one of Himmler's most trusted officials, and knew dozens of state secrets. He was in charge of 30 departments or sub-departments in Himmler's ministry, according to a document dated Jan. 15, 1945. Other documents show that Hitler promised Globke his "personal protection" and awarded him two medals for his "very special services" in the Nazi conquest of Austria and of the Sudetenland.

Within five years after the war, Globke had climbed from the obscure post of Town Treasurer in Aachen to Ministerial Director and Chief of Personnel in Adenauer's Chancery Office. Under his direction, democrats in the civil service were replaced by former Nazis. This was how Herr Taubert, Goebbels' anti-Comintern specialist in the Reich Propaganda Ministry who wrote the film "The Eternal Jew," got the job of chief of psychological warfare in the Bonn government. After the elections of September, 1953, Globke became State Secretary and acquired vast power.

HIS JOB: Every document addressed to Adenauer goes through Globke's hands. He writes his comment on it for Adenauer's guidance. He writes the Chancellor's speeches and sits directly behind him in Parliament, passing him notes. All Ministries and Federal Offices send their proposals for the Cabinet meetings to Globke who prepares the agenda. He decides on all hirings, firings and promotions of the higher-ups in the Bonn Ministries.

The secret service organization, under General Gehlen, is responsible to Globke. When Adenauer is away or ill, Globke is acting Chancellor. Globke is influential in deciding what may or may not be published in the West German press, and holds the purse strings of the so-called reptile fund, an appropriation for handouts to deserving newspapers and to bringers of special intelligence.

To clear Theodor Oberlaender, Bonn's Resettlement Minister, of charges of having instigated the massacre of the Jews of Lemberg (Lvov), Globke paid 100,000 marks of the West German taxpayers' money to the "Lemberg 1941 Investigating Committee," and another 5,000 to a Dutch Nazi named Joop Zwart (now jailed in Holland for counterfeiting.) Oberlaender had also been exposed by the East German government. He was compelled to retire in May.

At that time, with the Globke disclosures already in the wind, Adenauer was quoted by the Hamburg **Spiegel**, a newsweekly, as saying: "I would like to state most emphatically that we are not going to let them knock off our people one after the other."

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

Office of abolition group bombed; damage is slight

Special to the Guardian

LOS ANGELES

A FIRE-BOMB was placed against the front of the office of the Citizens Committtee to Protect American Freedoms, 617 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, about 1 a.m. Sept. 14. The bomb missed the huge picture window but shattered the door and started a small fire. No one was hurt. The owner of the building, Mrs. Shifra Tarr, 68, was asleep at the time in a small room behind the office.

Witnesses said they saw a man set down an object before the office and drive away in a gray car shortly before the explosion. **Frontier** magazine, which has consistently supported the fight of the Citizens Committee to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has offered a reward of $1,500 for the capture of the bomber.

Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, chairman of the Citizens Committee, said in a press release: "This bombing explains why the Citizens Committee was formed eight years ago for the specific purpose of opposing and securing the abolition of the House Committee. This outrage is the result of the climate of fear created in this country by the House Committee."

PHONE THREAT: A few months ago a huge Swastika was smeared on the door of the Citizens Committee office. The owner's mail box was shot off. Frank Wilkinson, secretary of the Citizens Committee, a few days before the bombing appeared on the Tom Duggan TV show. His appearance was in reply to a distorted version given on that show of the San Francisco student demonstrations against the House Committee. Duggan had shown a film made by the House Committee. While Wilkinson was on the program a telephone call was received at his home by Mrs. Wilkinson threatening bodily harm to her husband. Some students who had also appeared on the program barely escaped being beaten up by thugs in the parking lot of the station after they left the studio.

The day after the bombing Wilkinson's life insurance was canceled.

The Hearst **Herald and Express** began its story of the bombing thus:

"A gasoline bomb was exploded in the drive to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, foe of Communists and traitors, police reported today."

None of the Los Angeles daily papers metioned the posting of a reward. An American Legionnaire, interviewed on station KNX, remarked: "It is very possible for such organizations [as the Citizens Committee] to create sympathy by bombing themselves."

BOOKS

What makes Jack run

PORTRAIT OF THE CANDIDATE AS AN EVEN YOUNGER MAN
He was 21 and was returning with Ambassador Kennedy from London

POOR JOE McCARTHY. The writer, that is—not the late Senator. He wrote a book about the Kennedy family* and found they had so little humor or spice that he had to fill out the narrative with anecdotes about James Michael Curley, may his Machiavellian soul rest in troubled peace. They're good anecdotes, too. For example:

Curley used to tell how he beat one John R. Murphy for the mayoralty of Boston in 1921 by spreading a report that Murphy, a devout one if ever there was, had been seen in Thompson's Spa, down in Newspaper Row, eating a roast beef sandwich on Friday. And how a group of his loyal supporters rang doorbells in Irish Catholic South Boston introducing themselves as members of the Hawes Baptist Club and urging a vote for Murphy.

And then there was the story about what Curley said when he heard that Governor Cox had appointed as district attorney of Middlesex County Leverett Saltonstall's uncle, Endicott Peabody Saltonstall. Curley said: "All three of them?"

BUT THEN, we're doing what Joe McCarthy did. Actually one member of the Kennedy clan—in addition to the grandfathers now dead and gone—has color. That's Papa Joseph. But his color is exclusively green, for his money. And a good section of the book is devoted to detailing how Papa Joe devoted himself to the gathering of the green with a zeal that puts Daddy Warbucks in the shade.

Actually, when McCarthy writes about Papa Joe, it's quite fascinating, in a macabre way: his intricate stock manipulations, his film financing, his hobnobbing with the pro-Nazi set when he was Ambassador to the Court of St. James. But even more fascinating is the way he directed the lives of his children from childhood on. Talk about your silver cords! Here's a golden one: Papa Joe settled a million bucks on each of his nine children when they reached the age of 21 to make them "financially independent." How independent can you be of a father who gives you a cool million?

PAPA JOE TAUGHT his children to be tough; winning the game was the big thing. Ask anyone who was ever unlucky enough to get into what might laughingly be called a sporting match with the boys—and the girls. When Papa Joe wasn't around, Joe Jr. was top sergeant. He was a handsome, outgoing, robust fellow, and it was he who was slated to be President, not Jack, who was thin, bookish and not at all gregarious. But young Joe died tragically in a World War II bombing mission and the toga was draped over Jack's young frame.

But winning's the thing, so Jack went into it with a verve: a victory of a Seat in the House, a smashing defeat of Henry Cabot Lodge in the Senate—the sweetest triumph of all, for this was Papa Joe paying back the Brahmins for all the snubs he had got from them in Boston. It was nectar for all the Irish Catholic immigrants and their children, and their children's children who are now the new Brahmins of Boston. It was not for nothing that Papa Joe chose Harvard for himself over a Catholic university, and chose it also for his sons. How come a devout family like the Kennedys (Jack was married by Cardinal Cushing, Bobby and Teddy by Cardinal Spellman) chose that path? Well, if you're going to take over from the enemy, you have to know their ways before you lick 'em, don't you?

But there's a danger that their ways become yours. So Jack today is a cool, remote Ivy League cucumber whose smiling grasp of the sweaty palm of politics must cost his innards dearly.

WHAT EMERGES from this book, written in the popular style of a clever magazine writer who is also a good reporter, is the picture of a hard-driving, success-bent, closed-ranks family that knows what it's going after, and almost always gets it. There's little warmth in the clan. McCarthy writes:

"Whether it's a subcommittee hearing or a game of touch football at the Washington Monument, they're out for blood,' a close friend of the family says. A Washington reporter sums up the Kennedys with a line from a pep talk that he overheard Bob [Jack's campaign manager] giving to one of his seven small children. 'Let's swing higher and try for a new record,' Bob said, 'A Kennedy shouldn't be scared.' "

What emerges especially in this election season is the picture of the chosen one—Jack—aloof, devoid of a real philosophy except the pursuit of success, but always on the "go, go, go," because that's the way he was trained to be.

If he makes it to the White House, it will be a house haunted by the dominant personality of father Joe, and by the ghost of Joe Jr., who should have been it. And down by the Potomac, rustling through the trees, you'll hear the Shakespearean laughter of James Michael Curley, who could see the humor in almost anything.

—James Aronson

THE REMARKABLE KENNEDYS, by Joe McCarthy. The Dial Press, New York. 190 pp., $3.50.

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HERBERT APTHEKER: The Bomb and Imperialism
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The truth

ELIZABETH, N.J.

I enjoy and greatly appreciate your paper's fine work in presenting the truth especially during this critical period when the larger portion of the American press seems to be preparing the American people for a war. Thank you very much.

Craig Baldwin

Voting registration

(Continued from Page 1)

only 300 of its 7,921 Negroes.

GEORGIA SUIT: In Macon, Ga., the Federal government has instituted a second suit to end discrimination in Negro voter registration. The suit seeks to enjoin voter registrars of Terrell County, Ga., from making distinctions between Negro and other citizens, illegally denying Negroes rights under state and Federal laws, administering qualifying examinations to Negro applicants in a way different than to whites, denying registration to Negroes whose performance was equal to that of other successful applicants.

In Terrell County in 1958 Negroes represented 67% of the population of 12,500. Only 45 registered to vote. In 1956 there were 105 Negro voters in a total of 3,591.

AIM AT A MILLION: The nationwide campaign to increase Negro registration was given a boost last week by a call for a "non-partisan crusade to register one million new Negro voters for the coming election" issued by 20 Negro leaders. Initiators of the crusade were A. Philip Randolph, a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Leadership Conference, and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP.

Rev. King called upon ministers throughout the country to designate the Sunday before registration deadlines as Registration Sundays. He also urged churches to set up car-pools, provide baby-sitters and to canvass members.

Wilkins said that of 9,500,000 Negroes of voting age about 5,000,000 are already registered. The NAACP points out that Negroes can get more attention from both parties and from all candidates by "piling up a high registration."

COULD BE DECISIVE: A report on Negro registration compiled by the Non-Partisan Crusade points out that: "The outcome in several important southern states, now listed as 'doubtful' by most experts, can also be determined by a maximum Negro vote . . ." The report cites Texas with a Negro registration of 225,000 in 1958, North Carolina with 158,000 and Virginia with 93,000.

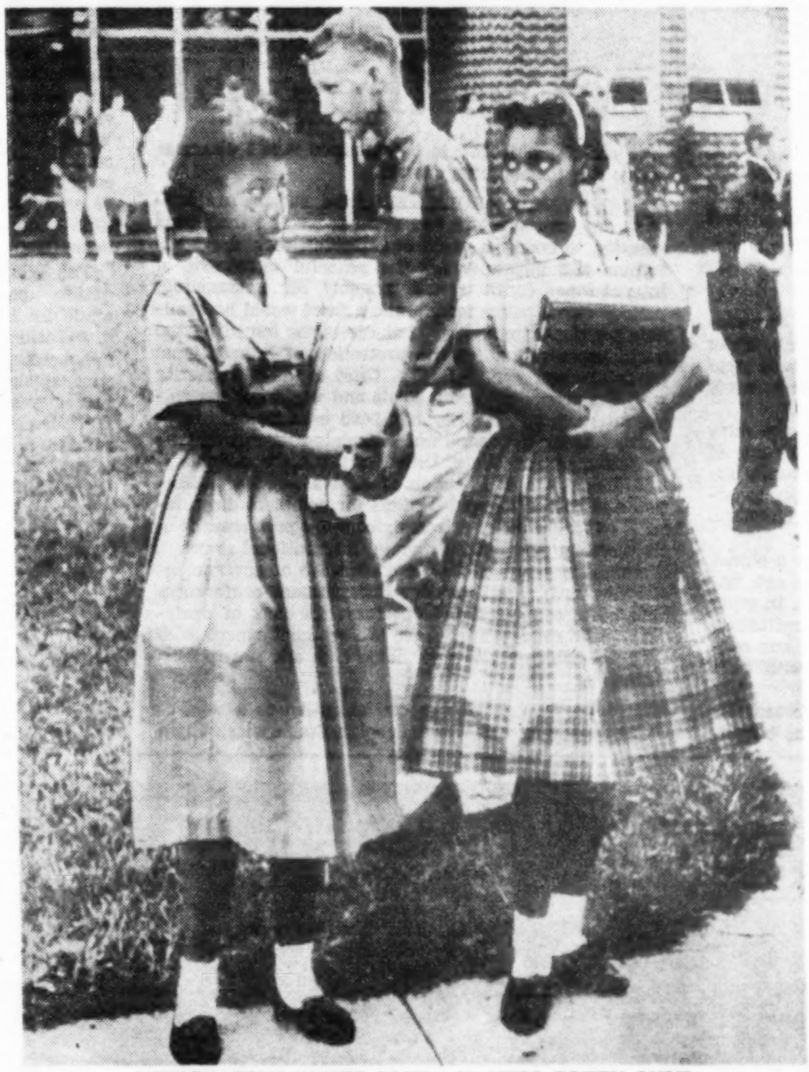
Only about 3,500,000 of the 9,500,000 Negroes eligible voted in the 1956 Presidential elections. This represented 37% of the Negro vote potential as compared with 58% for white voters. The percentage for Negroes in the South (excluding Texas) was 21%.

Outstanding results have been achieved in many communities, including Fayette and Haywood Counties in Tennessee, where first Negro registrations since Reconstruction began last spring. Total now for the two counties is 1,100. In South Carolina more than 20,000 have registered in a concentrated Congress of Racial Equality effort during the past six months, bringing the total Negro registration to more than 70,000.

THE TECHNIQUES: Pressures against Negro voters stem from a desire by some Southern whites to keep a small electorate, an NAACP spokesman said. In the 1956 Presidential election 11 Southern states ranked lowest in percentage of voting age population which actually voted. Twenty-five percent of the Negroes eligible to vote in the South and 60% of the whites are registered.

Among the techniques being used to increase Negro registration by local Congress of Racial Equality and NAACP groups are block by block canvassing, providing transportation to and from registration places and rallies at churches and other places.

In some places, sit-in tactics are used, as in East Chicago, Ind., where 80 high school and college students in ten squads sit on doorsteps of unregistered voters. In Ohio, as part of the vote drive, cash awards are made to persons who can produce their registration card when approached by NAACP members.



INTEGRATION IN THE SOUTH IS STILL TOKEN ONLY

These two girls are the only Negroes in a Roanoke high school

SHUTTLESWORTH CASE

Guilty: 3 kids sat up front in a bus

THREE CHILDREN of Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham civil rights leader, were found guilty of delinquency in Juvenile Court, Gadsden, Ala., Sept. 16, and placed on indefinite probation for sitting in the front of a segregated Greyhound bus. They will appeal.

The Shuttlesworth children, Patricia, 17, Fredericka, 15, and Fred, 13, had been arrested on a bus as they traveled home from an integrated youth meeting at Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., (GUARDIAN, Sept. 12).

"The judge's verdict was unjustified," Mr. Shuttlesworth said, "for no testimony at any time proved disorderly conduct by these children. To have accepted any verdict of guilty would have been un-Christian and un-American.

"The day has arrived when Negroes will no longer accept punishment for crimes not committed. In this situation, even one day's probation makes a mockery of justice, as the children were sitting in an orderly way on an interstate bus when arrested. If any crimes were committed in the Gadsden case, they were committed by persons other than the children."

In another action in Birmingham, Rev. Shuttlesworth and Rev. Charles Billups filed suit Sept. 7 in Federal court to stop Birmingham police from sending detectives to meetings of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. The suit charges that the practice is intimidation and violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

Protests have been called for by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta.

NEW YORK

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WHICH ROAD TO WORLD PEACE?

Abolition of war set as the goal

The following article appeared first as a letter to the editor of the New York Times *on Aug. 15. The author, Dr. Otto Nathan, distinguished economist, writer and lecturer, was a close friend of Dr. Albert Einstein. Readers' comments are invited on Dr. Nathan's proposal.*

By Otto Nathan

THE RECONVENING of the United Nations Disarmament Commission raises the question which, under the present circumstances, are the most promising steps to take toward world peace. Real progress can be made only if we learn from the failures of the past.

The United Nations, in essence, has used the same techniques which had been applied by the League of Nations since 1919. Both organizations apparently assumed that disarmament could be accomplished by arrangements among the respective nations of piecemeal curtailments of their armed forces.

There has never been such hope that, to use a phrase coined by Albert Einstein more than 30 years ago, nations could arm and disarm at the same time. In other words, as long as war exists as an accepted institution, it is to be expected that nations will consider any serious step toward disarmament incompatible with their "national security" and will reject it.

The experience of the last 40 years has unfortunately confirmed this skepticism. The problem to be considered and the objective to be atttained is not disarmament; it is the abolition of war.

WAR CAN BE ABOLISHED if the nations are willing, in the interest of world peace and their own security, to endow a world organization with the institutions and authority for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts and, possibly for a transitory period, with a police force. Such a force would be available for the extreme case that directions issued by the world organization for the protection of international peace are not complied with. Once a world authority with the proper authority exists and world law governing international security has been established, agreements leading to general and complete disarmament, as suggested by the Soviet Union, will become possible.

To devise the constitution of such a world organization and to draft detailed plans for complete disarmament will raise many extremely complex problems. Even disregarding the present acute international tension, it cannot be assumed that a conference of government officials, such as all previous disarmament conferences have been, could fruitfully perform the task of drafting a world peace plan. Needed is a group of experts who are responsible only to their conscience and not to governments.

THIS IS WHY I wish to call attention to a suggestion made by the World People's Conference, which recently met in Geneva and whose meetings I attended. The conference urged the formation of a non-governmental group consisting of scholars with technical knowledge in the field of disarmament, international law, political science, economics and international organization, approximately one-third each from the West, the communist nations and the uncommitted countries. This group should be provided with the necessary technical help and financial resources and should be asked to work together—regardless of the length of time required—until they have actually produced a peace plan.

The World People's Conference based its recommendation upon a suggestion which originally had been made by Harvard Professor Louis B. Sohn, co-author of "World Peace Through World Law." The forthcoming meeting of the United Nations Disarmament Commission should decide to submit the recommendation to this year's General Assembly with the request that the Secretary General be directed to assemble such a committee of experts by selecting its members from lists of outstanding scholars to be submitted by the member nations of the United Nations.

Unlike a conference of government representatives, such a committee would be completely free and unrestricted in its deliberations and would provide a more suitable climate for the elaboration of the intricate machinery which undoubtedly is needed for the transition of the world from the brink of war to real peace.

It could be hoped that a plan developed by such a group would command world-wide respect and would facilitate the drafting and adoption by the nations concerned of a legal and institutional mechanism for the abolition of war and universal disarmament.

The UN Assembly

(Continued from Page 1)

theless hastily advanced the date of his address to the UN to Sept. 22—a day before Khrushchev was scheduled to speak.

The future of the Congo, disarmament and recognition of Peking as the true representative of China loom large among the 87 items on the Assembly's agenda—larger than for any previous session.

Continuing deterioration of the situation in the Congo brought the issue back again to the UN Security Council on Sept. 15; from there it went into an emergency Assembly session and then to the Assembly's 15th session.

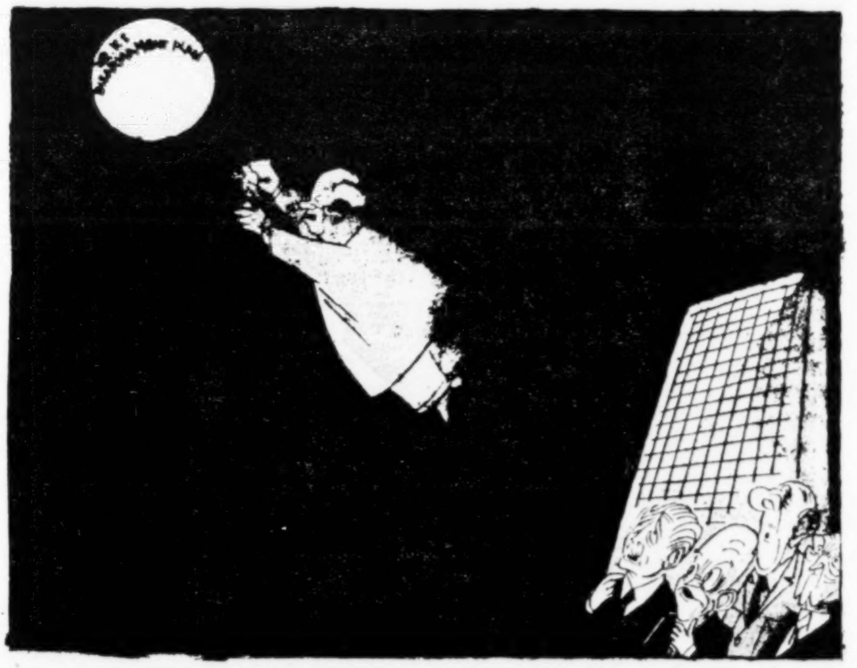
THE CONGO STORY: Affairs have gone from bad to worse in the Congo largely as a result of UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold's policy of UN forces' "neutrality" which, in effect, has played into the hands of Belgian and other foreign economic interests and separatist elements.

UN forces went to the Congo more than two months ago when Belgian paratroopers invaded the freed territory ostensibly to protect Belgian citizens from mutinous Congolese troops. Premier Patrice Lumumba requested UN "military assistance" and technical aid until "national security forces" were able to "meet fully their tasks." The Security Council mandate was to preserve the territorial integrity and political unity of the Congo.

On arrival, the UN troops immediately began disarming the Congolese but not the Belgians, although Ceylon's UN delegate Sir Claude Corea had questioned the right of Belgium or any other country to send its troops into another country because its nationals were being molested there. Despite three UN directives, Belgium, in fact, has not yet fully withdrawn its forces from the whole of the Congo; some are still in Katanga, leading the forces of secessionist Moise Tshombe's troops.

SITUATION IN KATANGA: UN troops were to spread out all over the Congo—including Katanga—to maintain law and order. Yet Hammarskjold long hesitated in sending them to Katanga, "negotiating" with Tshombe and returning to the UN Security Council for further "clarification" of the UN's task. His excuse was that negotiation with Tshombe prevented armed conflict between UN troops and Tshombe's forces. But Washington Post correspondent Russell Howe reported from the Congo (Sept. 9):

"It was obvious all along that Belgian troops (including the Belgian officers in Tshombe's private army) would not dare fire on UN." Furthermore, UN forces had been directed to defend themselves if attacked.



Vicky. London Evening Standard

"Oh dear, there he goes—reaching for the moon again . . ."

Howe said that he found in Katanga "no strong feelings about secession, except among a few Katangese politicians—and, of course, among Belgians in Katanga." But Hammarskjold's hesitation, his negotiations with Tshombe and Western indulgence of Belgium gave Belgians in Katanga precious time to build up an armed force, airlift arms from Belgium and elevate Tshombe to an undeserved position of eminence.

TRAGI-COMIC RESULTS: Even then the situation might have been stabilized if Premier Lumumba had not been prevented from airlifting troops to Katanga by the UN's seizure of Congo's airfields. This barred all but UN planes. These moves gave the impression that the UN was opposed to Lumumba and his policy of Congolese unity under a strong central government and was favorably inclined towards President Kasavubu and his policy of a loose Congolese federation, which was known to be favored by the Western powers. The UN took over Lumumba's Radio Leopoldville, but left Radio Elisabethville in Tshombe's control.

This resulted in the tragi-comedy of Kasavubu and Lumumba relieving each other of authority in turn, and enabled Hammarskjold to effect virtual UN occupation of the Congo—minus Katanga—with the excuse that there was no Congolese government with which he could deal. He overlooked the fact that the two houses of the Congolese parliament had (1) twice rejected Kasavubu's authority after he had twice opposed a strong central government and (2) voted full powers to Lumumba by an overwhelming majority. It was under these circumstances that the Congo issue was again brought before the Security Council on Sept. 15.

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE: In the debate the Soviet Union and Poland sharply criticized Hammarskjold's policy in the Congo; the U.S. in turn condemned the Soviet Union for lending troop transport planes to Lumumba. Indonesia noted that UN forces were sent to the Congo not to maintain neutrality but to assist the central government restore order and unity of the country. Indonesian delegate Wirjopranoto said:

"The Security Council must respect and support the will of the Congolese people, as clearly expressed by their Parliament which has, on more than one occasion, recognized and given its vote of confidence to the central government . . . led by Premier Lumumba . . . Civil strife will quickly cease once the dissidents and their supporters are confronted with the combined [forces] of the central government and the UN."

ONLY LEGAL GOVERNMENT: Ghana's delegate Quaison-Sackey backed Lumumba and called for disarming the "private armies" of Tshombe and others, the removal of Tshombe's Belgian officers and confiscation of Belgian arms given to dissident armies. Guinea's delegate Caba Sory also supported Lumumba as the head of the "only legal government democratically elected by the Congolese people." Ceylon's Corea proposed a UN good offices commission, composed of Afro-Asians, to go to the Congo in an effort to reconcile differences among Congolese leaders.

When a watered-down Ceylon-Tunisia resolution failed in the Security Council because of a veto by the Soviet Union, the U.S. called the Assembly into emergency session, although the Congo question had already been placed on the agenda of the 15th Assembly. To avoid the criticism that it was hastily summoning the emergency session because the Africans would not have the strength of the 14 new nations awaiting admission, the U.S. proposed that the new applicants be admitted immediately. This proposal failed because Hammarskjold said representatives of only two of the 14 had arrived in New York. The derisive laughter in the Assembly hall exposed the transparent U.S. maneuver.

THE RESOLUTION: At the emergency session 16 Afro-Asians, includinf Ceylon, Indonesia, Ghana and Guinea, offered a six-point resolution calling for (1) support of earlier resolutions that offered "military assistance" to the central government; (2) vigorous action by Hammarskjold to implement these resolutions; (3) Congolese unity to be restored with the aid of an Afro-Asian commission; (4) voluntary contributions to a UN fund for the Congo by UN members; (5) halting of unilateral action by member states; (6) halting of arms supplies to the Congo by all states "during the temporary period of military assistance through the UN," and "without prejudice to the sovereign rights" of the Congo.

The resolution was approved by a vote of 70 to 0; the socialist countries, France and South Africa abstained. It was considered only a partial victory for Hammarskjold. The resolution gave more supervisory power to the Afro-Asian group, reaffirmed the supremacy of the Congolese government and protected the Congo's "sovereign rights" to bilateral military assistance when the UN's temporary mission would be over.

In the Congo itself, the situation remained unclear at GUARDIAN press time. But at the UN it was apparent that almost all Asian-African members supported Lumumba because he stood for a purposeful central government and against maintaining the tribal structure of Congo's society, which would indefinitely postpone the Congo's planned economic, social and cultural progress.

EXPLOSIVE ISSUES: In addition to disarmament, China's seat and the Congo, other vital issues faced the Assembly. Algeria's freedom and Soviet and Cuban charges of U.S. "aggression" were on the list. The 15th session was charged with explosive issues which, depending on their solution, boded good or ill for all mankind for years to come.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

PETE SEEGER — Orchestra Hall — Sat., Oct. 8, 8:30 p.m. Tickets: $3.85, 3.30, 2.50, 2.00, available at Discount Records, Inc., Hyde Park Co-op Credit Union, Devon Music, Baca Radio (Evanston). Mail orders: Orchestra Hall, 220 S. Michigan. Presented by Triangle Productions.

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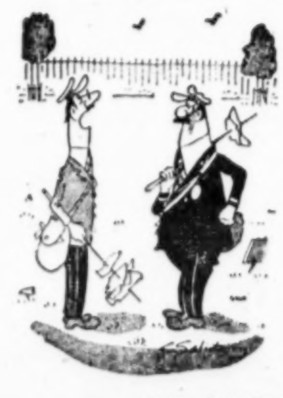

London Daily Mirror
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Britain bears down on crooked cukes

LONDON (UPI)—Anyone who sells a crooked cucumber in Britain these days is liable to a fine up to $280, it was disclosed Saturday. The tomato and cucumber marketing board, in an effort to end a glut on the market, ruled that until Aug. 31, bent or crooked cucumbers may not be sold under penalty of the law. After Aug. 31, when the glut should be over, bent cukes may be sold again along with straight ones.

Untwisted

LOS GATOS, CALIF.

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THE GALLERY

BECAUSE OF PUBLIC PROTEST, Columbia Pictures decided not to show Wernher von Braun's biography. **I Aim at the Stars,** in England. J. Lee Thompson, British director of the film, was unhappy that it had been "prejudged." He insisted it did not "whitewash von Braun." Thompson said: "He's neither a hero nor a villain, neither all black or all white. He's simply a man of our times." Of von Braun, Thompson said: "He and I disliked each other on sight. And though I came to admire certain qualities in him—his dedication, for example—I can't help wondering what some of these scientists have in place of a heart." Thompson said that if von Braun, who developed the V-2 rockets that bombed London, had surrendered to the British instead of Americans, "we should have hanged him." . . . A "back to the Fatherland" campaign has been raging among Canadians of German descent. West German companies have been placing "situations wanted" ads in Canadian papers. This month the Canadian edition of the Hamburg newspaper **Die Zeit,** which has 5,000 German-Canadian subscribers, carried an ad recruiting officer cadets for the West German army, navy and air force. After a public stir in Canada, the West German Defense Ministry said it was a "terrible mistake" and a "stupidity" that the Canadian, South African and South American editions carried the ad. It was only meant for the German edition, officials said. In Toronto Gunther Habelt, West German vice consul, warned: "Any attempt by a Canadian newspaper to make something out of this is a gross insult to our government."

WHEN PAKISTAN ECONOMICS MINISTER Wasir Ali tried to combine a business trip with a family outing in Georgia last month, he got a taste of Dixie hospitality. On route to Atlanta, Ali and his family stopped at Unicoi State Park in the north Georgia mountains to rent a cabin and a camp site for one night. But Park Superintendent Lat Vindiver said the party "looked too much like colored folks" and turned them away. Ali said later: "We understand that they don't understand; so it's all right." .. . . Two-pack-a-day smokers take heart, J. H. Burn, emeritus professor of pharmacology at Oxford, has a theory that nicotine may be a stimulous to thinking . . . Ads for the new king-size "Philip Morris Commander" state: "Instead of just dropping the tobacco onto the paper, this new machine [called Mark VIII] lifts it by vacuum, gently vacuum-cleans it, and then rolls it into the paper." . . . A real cool frozen food company in London advertises its product as "the finest food you ever thaw." . . . A class-conscious gremlin in the Seattle **Post-Intelligencer** composing room may have been responsible for the obituary on J. Willard Maxwell, a retired banker. The story reported that he lived at "6$$1 E. 57th St." . . . Premier Nikita Khrushchev has been invited to write a preface for the Russian edition of **This Is Britain**, the annual review of British industrial achievement under capitalism. He has not yet replied.

PSYCHIATRIST

London Daily Mirror
"Mind coming back? I'm a bit busy just now!"

CLEVELAND INDIANS PITCHER Jim Grant was suspended for the rest of the season and docked two weeks pay—about $1,000 —for walking out of the ballpark on Sept. 16. Grant, who is a Negro, was in the bullpen when the band played the national anthem before the game. He reported: "I was singing along with the national anthem as I always do. Then when it got to that part 'Home of the Brave', I sang something like 'This Land is not So Free, I Can't Even Go to Mississippi.'' Pitching coach Ted Wilks, who was born in New York but lives in Texas, heard Grant and blew his top. He told the Negro pitcher that if he didn't like this country, he should go elsewhere. Kilks ended a stream of abuse by calling Grant a "black - - - " In answer, Grant told Wilks that "Texas is worse than Russia." In a rage, Grant left the bullpen, walked to the clubhouse, dressed and went home. When manager Jimmy Dykes called to the bullpen for Grant to warm up in the fourth inning and discovered that Grant had left, he suspended the pitcher and docked his pay. General manager Frank Lane supported Dykes. Wilks was not reprimanded . . . Wallachs' clothing chain of New York noted in an ad that both Presidential candidates are natty dressers. Vice President Nixon, it said, was chosen one of the ten best dressed men in America by the Custom Tailors Guild. Although Sen. Kennedy breaks many of the "rules"—two-button suits, unnatural shoulders—the Democratic candidate is still considered a sport. The ad concluded: "Have you noticed that Chief Executives seem to get better dressed as their term of office lengthens?"

—Robert E. Light

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ALP 107—"ASRAEL"—SYMPHONY IN C MINOR, by Joseph Suk; Czechoslovak Philharmonic Orchestra, Talich, cond.

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ALP 154—PICTURES AT AN EXHIBITION, Moussorgsky; and **SONATA NO. 7 in B-FLAT MAJOR, Opus 83; Prokofiev;** Sviatoslav Richter.

ALP 125—RHAPSODY ON A THEME BY PAGANINI, Rachmaninoff, and **PIANO SONATA IN B MINOR,** Liszt; Soloist: **LI-MIN-TCHAN,** eminent Chinese pianist.

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ALP-141—SYMPHONY IN B-FLAT MAJOR, OPUS 4, Dvorak; Prague Symphony, Neumann.

ALP 152—TE DEUM, PSALMUS HUNGARICUS, Zoltan Kodaly; The Budapest Chorus and Hungarian Concert Orchestra conducted by the composer.

ALP 124—HUNGARIAN PEASANT SONGS, TWO PORTRAITS, OPUS 5, and **DEUX IMAGES, OPUS 10** of Bela Bartok; Hungarian Symphony Orch.

ALP 155—Symphony NO. 4 in F MINOR, Opus 36; Tchaikovsky; USSR State Symphony, Ivanov, cond.

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the SPECTATOR

The new students

THEY ALL LOOKED SO YOUNG. They were five days out of the villages of East Africa and they were still a little uneasy. But curiosity and excitement had the edge over nervousness. And when they spoke, especially about politics, their words belied the innocence of their eyes.

They were high school and college students, part of "Operation Airlift," 256 students from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Zanzibar who had been flown here after a political controversy over who would pay the fare. The Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. Foundation financed the airlift with a grant of $100,000 after the State Department had refused. But transportation and orientation for 256 students are an expensive business and the African American Students Foundation, Inc., of 477 Madison Ave., which had coordinated the student program, finds itself with an estimated deficit of $15,000.

At a banquet sponsored by the Students Foundation last week in New York the battle was over and almost, but not quite, forgotten.

WHILE STILL SAYING GOODBYE to the farm and the family and the town, the students had innocently been plunged into international affairs and the U.S. Presidential campaign. Now they were simply glad to be here.

They had waited in Nairobi while the controversy raged. Had the uncertainty disturbed them? No, said one. Mboya had said the planes had been delayed. We would have waited until December. We are glad to be able to come, to study.

While they waited and their families came to say goodbye again, their flight was discussed in Washington and New York with charges and counter-charges hurled by Democratic and Republican Senators, candidates, campaign managers. In order to stifle pro-Kennedy publicity, Nixon had tried to get the State Dept. to reverse its stand.

The hassle stemmed from the fact that the countries from which the students came are colonies seeking independence and need trained people. In Kenya, home of more than half the students, the British are hanging on—restricting civil liberties, lagging in the education of their African subjects, persecuting independence leaders. (Jomo Kenyatta has been under house arrest since April, 1959, after spending five years in prison.) The U.S. State Department must move cautiously as it chips away at the Empire. And so, "Operation Airlift" had difficulty getting off the ground. But the Students Foundation had been persistent and a way was found.

AT THE BANQUET there was only a scattering of Americans in the room, many of whom were volunteer workers in the Student Foundation. The speeches were short.

You are the future leaders of Africa, the man from the Kennedy Foundation said. "We want to equip you to develop your countries to take their rightful places among the nations of the world," the man from the State Department said.

We take a position which at the moment is controversial, the man from the Student Foundation said. We concentrate in East and Central Africa and we work with African leaders. Our program seeks to help fulfill an aim of theirs.

During dinner we had spoken of many things. The students' anxiety showed. "Excuse me, miss," one said. "I went to get my bus ticket and they said to come back tomorrow. What does that mean? And, please: How far is it to Beaufort, South Carolina?"

THEIR EXCITEMENT SHOWED. "New York is a GREAT city," one said. Their humor showed. An American asked: "Why, out of 15 in your family, was it you who was chosen to study here?" A Kenyan whispered: "He should say, 'Because I am The Chosen One'."

Their patience and their courage showed. An 18-year-old Kenyan who was going to the South to study was asked if he was worried about the discrimination he would meet. "I am a boy from a colony. It does not bother us," he said. "In Kenya we are used to a lot."

One Kenyan who has been here for four years, two of which were spent in the South, had taken part in sit-in demonstrations at lunch counters. "It was our fight, too," he said.

As we discussed Cuba, one student said that though he thinks Cubans are fully behind the Castro government, he felt expropriation should have gone more slowly. Castro could have called the owners in and discussed with them, he suggested. Another Kenyan said: Yes, and they would have delayed the discussions as long as possible while they took everything out of the country they could. That's what will happen in Kenya, if we don't watch out.

The spokesman for the group, Samuel Ayany, summed it all up. He is 38. He had applied to the British for scholarships for 11 years and this year, after he had been granted one to go Howard University, the British made him an even better offer. It was 11 years too late, he said.

AS HE PRESENTED gifts he explained their purpose. A three-legged stool used by Kenyans when they are doing deep thinking on difficult problems had been presented to Senator Kennedy "because he might have some deep problems in the near future." Aprons were presented to two leaders of the African Students Foundation, because aprons are worn "when one is working so as not to get dirty." These, he said, are for use when arranging future airlifts. A switch, which is used to keep flies away and is a symbol of dignity in Kenya, was presented to a Kennedy Foundation leader. These three, Ayany said, symbolize our purpose. When we return home we will think deeply, we will work and we will fight for our dignity.

—Joanne Grant

Thanks, friends

ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Here is $20 for a great progressive paper. Keep up the good work.

Ukrainian Friends